1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

587 It may be noted that this custom may conflict with the other custom, previously mentioned, that a woman objects to marrying a man younger than herself. In the case mentioned by Mr Man a young man was compelled to marry a woman who was considerably his senior[1].

I believe that, in connection with, or underlying this custom there was an objection against a widow marrying a man who was older than her former husband (and who would therefore be his *ot-otoatue*). I regret that I cannot speak with certainty on these matters.

854 We may turn now to the duties to one another of parents and children. During their infancy the children are in the care of the mother. Children are, however, such favourites with the Andamanese that a child is played with and petted and nursed not only by his own father and mother but by everyone in the village. A woman with an unweaned child will often give suck [853] to the children of other women. Babies are not weaned till they are three or four years old.

[482] Before the children can walk, they are carried about by the mother, and sometimes by the father or other persons, in a bark sling (called *čiba* in *Aka-Jeru*), which is shown in Plate XIV.

857 After they can walk the children generally accompany their mothers in their expeditions near the camp for firewood or vegetables. When they are not with their mothers they amuse themselves with games in the village or on the beach. All the children of the coast villages learn to swim when they are very young, in fact almost as soon as they learn to walk, and many of their games are conducted in the water.

868 When a boy reaches the age of five or six his father makes him a toy bow and arrows, and sometimes a toy canoe. From this time the boy begins to learn the occupations of men and begins to pick up knowledge about the animals and trees and fishes of his country. The girl, accompanying her mother on her expeditions to gather roots and seeds, or to catch fish or pick up molluscs on the reefs, learns what it is necessary for women to know.

855 Until the age of about eight to ten a child lives with his

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 139.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

parents, having a place in the family hut, and a share of the family meal. The children are treated with extreme kindness, and are never punished, and hardly ever scolded. Should the parents die the children are adopted by friends or relatives, and such adopted children are treated by the foster-parents in exactly the same way as their own children.

At the age of ten, or a little before, a change is often brought about in the life of a child, owing to the custom of adoption. Mr Man writes of this custom as follows:

"It is said to be of rare occurrence to find any child above six or seven years of age residing with its parents, and this because it is considered a compliment and also a mark of friendship for a married man, after paying a visit, to ask his hosts to allow him to adopt one of their children. The request is usually complied with, and thenceforth the child's home is with his (or her) foster-father: though the parents in their turn adopt the children of other friends, they nevertheless pay continual visits to their own child, and occasionally ask permission (!) to take him (or her) away with them for a few days. A man is entirely at liberty to please himself in the number of children he adopts, but he must treat them with kindness and consideration, and in every respect as his own sons and daughters, and they, on their part, render him filial affection and obedience. It not unfrequently happens that in course of time permission to adopt a foster-child is sought by a friend of the *soi-disant* father, and is at once granted (unless any exceptional circumstance should render it personally inconvenient), without even the formality of a reference to the actual parents, who are merely informed of the change, in order that they may be enabled to pay their periodical visits[1]."

The above passage is quoted because Mr Man had better opportunities of observation in this matter than myself. At the present day there are not many children in the Andamans, and this is an obstacle in the way of this custom of adoption. From my own observation, however, I should put the age at which it is customary for children to be adopted at higher than six or seven. I found children of about seven or eight still

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 125.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH [1], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to three of the fireplaces. They are used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was also found. One fireplace had a small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. The Andamanese identified it as an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, exactly similar to that used by the Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

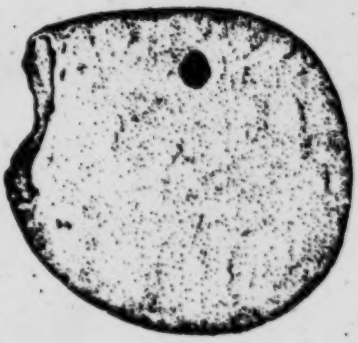

Fig. 3

[1] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attributed to scarcity of food, nor can nutrition have had any effect on the demographic decadence. Strict endogamy over thousands of years, and fragmentation into smaller and smaller groups is perhaps a more likely explanation of the situation. The last stage has now been reached; the Arioto, for instance, who numbered six hundred and twenty-five in the 1901 census, had dwindled to twenty-three in 1955. In that year there were only two young children, a boy and a girl (of different parents) and the girl, about five years old, clearly had a Burmese father. The boy, however, named Sirake and then aged about eleven, intelligent and alert, with the very blue-black skin of the Andamanese and typical hair, may well be of pure stock. He is the only hope of continuing the ancient Arioto line, but this will be impossible unless a girl of pure stock is born shortly.

This seems unlikely. With the exception of these two couples, the Arioto appear to be sterile. I have myself seen their sorrow at being deprived of children, and one of them, named Moro, of fairly pure stock, told me of his grief. He took me to his wife, also of pure Andamanese origin, and externally as normal and healthy as her husband, but deserted by the spirits of fertility. Through no fault of their own, the cause probably lies in both of them.

In all the Andamanese, fertility seems always to have increased from the age of twenty-eight and to end by the age of forty-eight – in many cases thirty-eight, although since none of them know their age, owing to the absence of any form of counting, their deceptively youthful appearance makes assessment of age extremely difficult. I met only one woman who, as far as I could estimate, had borne seven children, and of these only three were still alive in 1954; the widespread custom by which children are transferred from one family to another, even during the period of lactation, to 'share' the enjoyment of them, made all the usual means of assessing the number of births virtually impossible. In a number of childless couples whom I saw on Little Andaman, the women are under twenty-eight and there is still hope of fertility, even if it is late. This could happen in the case of the wives of the two leaders Cocheggi and Cendubài; these two men married two sisters, among the healthiest and most beautiful women on the island, Vaghèghe and Tocuaghèghe, both under twenty-two. Neither of them has ever been pregnant, although both are apparently normal and

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

842 163 enjoy the active marital relationships necessary, according to their husbands, to encourage the entry of the benevolent spirits which bring motherhood. The late onset of fertility in all Andamanese 842 women and perhaps in men as well[1] probably depends on mech- 163 anisms which have been operating for a very long time, affecting 165 the sex ratio at birth, and preferential infant mortality in one sex. [123] By a combination of observation and deduction I was able to be [124] reasonably certain that among the Onges at least more males are born than females. The disparity is reduced, though not eliminated, by a higher mortality rate in young males. Males thus remain in excess, making it difficult for some, possibly fertile, to find wives.

842 There are certain peoples – notably the Pitcairn Islanders – who 143 have arisen by repeated inbreeding for hundreds of years from a 161 very few individuals. It is clear from this example that genetic isolation and inbreeding cannot of themselves cause numerical, physical or mental decline of a population. The problem merits further investigation. Civilization has perhaps accused herself unjustly of causing the decline of primitive races, whereas she has in fact only hastened the disappearance of groups already heading for demographic decadence as the result of physiological factors which lie within the group itself, and which are consequently difficult to counteract. The intrinsic damage done by civilization as such has, in my opinion, been considerably exaggerated in some quarters.

● 855 Possibly because of the low birth rate the maternal instinct is 597 very highly developed in the women of the Andamans, even to the point of 'adopting' children temporarily. These children are always given lavish affection, and are kept sometimes for years, or even permanently if the parents do not ask for them back. Given the language barrier, this custom makes census-taking difficult as childless couples happily declare adopted children as their own. Nabimbòi, with no children of her own, always had children with her, and it was only the fact that they differed from year to year that led me to suspect what was happening! One wonders whether the custom was not already common before outsiders first came to the Andamans, owing to the existence of a high incidence of sterility long before the arrival of civilization.

[1] There is some evidence of infertility in the men, but it is clear that this is of relatively minor importance.